Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 SS-15

NSC-10 H-03 OMB-01 DRC-01 /118 W ----- 054527

O R 091735Z OCT 73 FM USMISSION NATO TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2024 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY BONN USNMR SHAPE USCINCEUR

SECRETUSNATO 4801

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUGGESTED TEXT ON PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES

REF: USNATO 4786

1. AS REPORTED REFTEL, MISSION HAS WORKED WITH FRG DELEGATION HERE TO RESOLVE DIFFICULITES CREATED BY INTRODUCTION AT OCTOBER 8 NAC AND FRG AMENDMENTS TO PARAGRAPH ON PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES (PARA 23). FRG DEL ORGAINZED A MEETING ON OCTOBER 9 ATTENDED BY BONN MBFR EXPERT RUTH, MISSION OFFICER, AND FRG DELOFF RANTZAU. RUTH MADE POINTS REPORTED IN BONN 14550 AND RESTATED STRONG FRG DESIRE TO AVOID ANY LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO PUT HEAVY LINES AROUND NATO GUIDELINES AREA. HE ARGUED THAT TERMS "RELATED TO" AND "PRIMARILY" HELPED TO PROTECT THIS GERMAN POSITION. MISSION OFFICER RESTATED U.S. CONCERNS OVER ANY EXPANSION OF GEOGRAPHIC AREA, WHICH WAS THE HASIS OF OUR OPPOSITION TO NEW FRG LANGUAGE.

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2. FURTHER DISCUSSION REVEALED DIFFICULTY OF ADDRESSING AREA OF APPLICATION QUESTION IN THREE SEPARATE PLACES IN PARA 23. IT WAS DECIDED TO DEVELOP A SINGLE SENTENCE, LOCATED AFTER THE LIST OF MEASURES,

WHICH WOULD SET FORTH CLEARLY BOTH THE U.S. VIEW AND THE GERMAN VIEW ON AREA. THUS THE PHRASING ABOUT AREA IN THE FIRST SENTENCE WAS DROPPED AND THE NEW FOOURTH SENTENCE WOULD APPEAR IN COMBINATION WITH THE FINAL FRG SENTENCE. THE MAJOR DIFFICULTY AROSE FROM RANTZAU'S INSISTENCE ON DROPPING "ONLY" FROM U.S. SENTENCE, SINCE THIS ADDED TO HIGHLY RESTRICTIVE CHARACTER OF U.S. FORMULATION, BUT HE EVENTUALLY AGREED TO LEAVE IT IN.

- 3. THE FORMULATION TENTATIVELY AGREED UPON WAS AS FOLLOWS: "THESE MEASURES WOULD BE PUT FORWARD, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, AS APPLYING ONLY TO MOVEMENTS INTO AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA, ALTHOUGH THE POSSIBILITY OF APPLYING SUCH MEASURES TO FORCES IN SPECIFIED AREAS OUTSIDE OF THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA IS NOT EXCLUDED."
- 4. RUTH AND RANTZAU BELIEVED THAT BONN WOULD ACCEPT THIS PROPOSED REVISION. IF WASHINGTON ALSO ACCEPTS IT, NEW TEXT FOR PARA 23 WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS:
- " PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES AIMED AT BUILDING CONFIDENCE BY REDUCING THE REISK OF MISUNCDRSTANDINGS AN AMBIGUOUS MILITARY ACTIVITY. SUCH CONSTRAINTS SHOULD BE DESIGNED IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO GIVE THE SOVIETS THE MEANS FOR INTERFERENCE IN WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICIES. THESE CONSTRAINTS WOULD OF NECESSITY BE APPLIES TO SPECIFIC FORCES IN RELATION TO SPECIFIC TERRITORIES; THEIR FORMULATION SHOJLD, HOWEVER, BE FOCUSSED ON FORCES RATHER THAN TERRITORIES (1). SUBJECT TO FURTHER URGENT EXAMINATION IN THE ALLIANCE (2) AND TO THE CONSIDERATIONS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPHS -14 AND 17 ABOVE, THE LLIES WILL SEEK AGREEMENT PRIOR TO REDCUTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING MEASURES: (I) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MOVEMENTS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO THE AREA INCLUDING ROTATIONS;
- (II) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA; SECRET

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- (III) LIMITS ON SIZE, LOCATIONS, NUMBER AND DURATION OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA;
- (IV) EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA.

THESE MEASURES WOULD BE PUT FORWARD, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, AS APPLYING ONLY TO MOVEMENTS INTO AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA, ALTHOUGH THE POSSIBILITY OF APPLYING SUCH MEASURES TO FORCES IN SPECIFIED AREAS OUTSIDE OF THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA IS NOT EXCLUDED.

FOOTNOTE (1) THESE CONSIDERATIONS APPLY EQUALLY TO PARAGRAPH 29

FOOTNOTE (2) THIS SHOULD INCLUDE CONSIDERATION OF PROBLEMS WHICH WOULC ARISE FROM THE APPLICATION OF THE MEASURES SET OUT IN (II) AND (IV) TO NATO FORCES OTHER THAN US FORCES IN THE AREA. ONE DELEGATION HAS EXPRESSED PARTICULAR RESERVATIONS TO THE MEASURES IN (III).

5. COMMENT: MISSION RECOMMENDS ACCEPTANCE OF THIS REVISED TEXT. TIT DELETES TERMS "RELATED TO" AND "PRIMARILY". IT ALSO STATES U.S. APPROACH AS A REQUIREMENT ("WOULD BE PUT FORWARD") WHILE LEAVING TO THE FRG ONLY THE "POSSIBILITY" OF APPLYING MEASURES TO WIDER AREA. FINALLY, THIS IN ONLY REMAINING BRACKETED PASSAGE IN ENTIRE MBFR PAPER ANDU.S.-FRG AGREEMENT ON THIS TEXT WOULD CLEAR THE WAY TO COUNCIL ENDORSEMENT OF ALLIANCE POSITION ON MBFR. REQUEST GUIDANCE, IN TIME FOR OCTOBER 10 NAC MEETING.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 02 APR 1999 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: n/a Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 09 OCT 1973 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED

Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO04801

Document Number: 1973NATO04801
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: 11652 GDS

Errors: n/a Film Number: n/a From: NATO

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731064/abqcecot.tel Line Count: 128 Locator: TEXT ON-LINE Office: n/a

Original Classification: SECRET Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3

Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: USNATO 4786 Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa

Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 07 AUG 2001

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <19-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>

Review Markings:

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier: Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: MBFR: SUGGESTED TEXT ON PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES

TAGS: PARM, NATO To: STATE SECDEF BONN **USNMR SHAPE** USCINCEUR

Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005